"Translating Women": Gender and Translation as Cultural Practice in Huancavelica/Peru

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Resumen: Basado en mis experiencias en los Andes Centrales (2004), este artículo analiza la traducción (quechua-castellano) como práctica cultural. Demostrará cómo los rasgos discursivos locales son representados y reinterpretados en el habla y las traducciones inherentes en el análisis antropológico y en contextos institucionales, creando espacios dinámicos de interacción entre instituciones nacionales, extranjeros y las comunidades indígenas. Tomando en cuenta las habilidades pragmáticas y meta-pragmáticas de las mujeres bilingües en las interacciones cotidianas, mostrará la fuerza transformativa en su trabajo creativo de identidad y comprensión más allá de discursos de poder, desigualdad e ideologías lingüísticas.

Palabras clave: Quechua, traducción, comunicación, mujeres, tradiciones orales, andes centrales, siglo xxi.

Abstract: Based on my experiences in the Central Andes (2004) this paper explores translation between Quechua and Spanish as cultural practice. It shows how specific local discourse patterns are reinterpreted in speech and translation involved in both anthropological analysis and institutional contexts, creating dynamic spaces of interaction between national institutions, foreigners and indigenous communities. Taking into account the pragmatic and metapragmatic capacities of local bilingual 'translating women" it reveals the transformative power in their creative labor of identity formation and mutual understanding, going beyond hegemonic discourses, inequality and linguistic ideologies.

Keywords: Quechua, translation, communication, women, narratives, Central Andes, 21st century.

Introduction

The title of this paper 'Translating Women' (an expression also used by Luise von Flotow 2011) reflects my personal experiences in relation to 'gender in translation' between Quechua, Spanish, and German during an anthropological fieldwork stay in Huancavelica, Peru in 2004 (see Schneider 2007) and has to be understood in a double sense.

First, as a (female) anthropologist I collected, audio-taped and transcribed narratives, songs and comments from Quechua speaking (or bilingual) women and translated them to German for further analysis, documentation and transmission to a wider academic audience beyond Andean communities. Culturally specific meanings and artistic skills in the performances often were difficult to translate, interpret or even to understand. Sometimes those features got 'lost' in translation, at the same time they put into

question hegemonic processes of adaptation. Translation from Quechua to German (or English), often passing through Spanish, emerged as a highly ambivalent process, given the move from oral expressions to written text, the distance between the original context of performance and the circulation in the academic space.

Second, in the bilingual setting of the Central Andes, many women I worked with apart from being translated were also 'translating women' in several situations: As cultural brokers they transmitted cultural information from their point of view and translated between Western institutions (courts, NGOs, schools, etc.), foreigners and indigenous communities, showing metapragmatic capacities. In a region where dominant national and marginalized indigenous languages coexist, translation efforts and practices do not only achieve a political, historical and textualized dimension, but also entail a range of – sometimes contradictory – phenomena of ongoing linguistic action.

Departing from the fact that translation played a central role both in my anthropological work and in the everyday lives of the people in Huancavelica, in this essay I explore the complex relations between gender, culture and translation between the local and the global in new ways. I examine in what aspect gender-specific ways of speaking intersect with culturally specific discourse patterns, power relations and identity formations, and how those aspects are represented in translation. I also discuss the specific role and behavior of a female speaker in relation to her interactants, when members of different speech communities and cultural background are engaging in translational practice.

Although my project originally was not exclusively about women, my experiences with my female interactants during my fieldwork in the Peruvian Andes had a special quality that merited further and closer examination. However, my argument does not rely on 'essential' gender or cultural differences between Quechua-speaking peasants and Spanish-speaking city dwellers. Instead of adding a new dichotomy to existing ones, the two seemingly diverging perspectives mentioned above will go together in an anthropological concept of space that allows for the analysis of individual encounters and translation as concrete ongoing action on both sides simultaneously.

In the first part of the article I give examples of some fieldwork situations and show that translation realized by the anthropologist is more than a one-sided routine or neutral methodological step, but depends on numerous, often fragmentary, unpredictable, but also reciprocal and dialogical processes of adaptation, including the incorporation of the anthropologist in her search of data by different actors in the field. Then I elaborate the theoretical implications of this type of field situation, contrasting it with current approaches and other ethnographic work about cultural translation and gender.

The next part is dedicated to the actual ongoing speech and translation performed by Andean women, for example in political speech or courtroom sessions containing hybrid speech or direct translation. Departing from the original communicative events

I show in detail the contradictory and ideological structures and meanings inherent in the women's ways to incorporate foreign concepts to their linguistic and cultural universe within and beyond institutions, asking how they affect discourse or create ambivalent meanings, but also, more importantly, how hegemonic structures are overcome by those practices. To discover those dimensions, I use Michael Silverstein's category of indexicality, as it helps to understand the relation between language and its meaning in context beyond denotational meanings and to analyze the language and culture of gender at the "intersection of structure, usage and ideology" (Silverstein 1985: 219). Simultaneously, the transcribed pieces of translational events can be *indices* of how translation actually works at the local level before entering the academic space and getting global. Finally, the two perspectives on translation emerge as opposite sides of the same coin, manifesting itself in individual speech situations and encounters between women of different culture and language.

The ethnographer translating women: Anthropological inquiry, collaborative discourses and metapragmatic competence

The special world view and everyday life of Andean women have been documented by various anthropologists. Analyzing songs from Ecuadorian women, Regina Harrison gives an account of how women in their songs express their strength, power and social relations (1989: 121ff), using specific metaphors and verbal play. Hornberger (1992) analyzes two narratives representing different views on women in society, and Howard (1998, 2005 and 2007) addresses Bolivian women's point of view on literacy, intercultural communication and linguistic ideology.

There are a few longer testimonies and life stories of Andean women translated into English or German. One notable example is the life history of Asunta, the wife of Gregorio Mamani (Valderrama Fernández & Escalante Gutiérrez 1996). More recent publications include the life history of Hilaria Supa Huamán, a Quechua speaking woman, who not only retells her life and describes the principles of Andean life to a foreign audience from an indigenous point of view, but also shares her own critical reflections about political issues, personal efforts and agency in society (Huamán 2001, with translations to German in 2005 and to English in 2008).

Other work on gender in Andean culture and narrative focuses more closely on economic aspects of gender relations and ethnicity. For example, Cadena argues that the subordination of female work in the Andes is intimately associated with the "feminization of the rural community" that "has its counterpart in the perception of the city as the male domain" (1995: 341). Crain interprets narratives from Ecuadorian women about the death of wage laborers as an expression of an 'unofficial" view on social realities or even a "counter-discourse" and "alternative political language" (1991: 85) that contrast

with male perspectives and official representations of politics. Weismantel (2001) examines native concepts about the male and female based on racial ideologies and economic aspects in local ideas about the *chola*, an Andean market woman, and in the stories about the *pishtaco*, a horrifying figure often associated with a white man, killing people in the Andes to extract their fat (that metaphorically represents the life force of the Andean people). Mannheim & van Vleet (1998: 331), listening to similar stories in Southern Peru, noticed that those concepts are not just metaphors for economic exploitation, but may also be related to the extraction of knowledge (e.g. by the questioning of an anthropologist with a tape recorder). The authors also emphasize the intertextual and dialogical nature of storytelling in the Andes that, on the one hand, goes beyond notions of fixed texts and, on the other hand, affects the relationship between ethnographer, storyteller and the text (Mannheim & van Vleet 1998: 326-327).

I encountered similar experiences due to the dialogical nature of translation in my fieldwork: While some (primarily male) teachers, translators or community leaders with contact institutions were partially acquainted with interviews and even enjoyed the opportunity to perform and show rhetorical competence, others (especially women) showed reluctance when asked to tell a story or invited to speak. For example a woman named Antonia, who actually was very competent in storytelling, referred to the knowledge of her (absent) husband and told me to come back after the harvest, when the seasonal fieldwork would be done. This had nothing to do with 'lack of time', or her unwillingness to speak, but rather with the fact that many people had to make sense of the presence and intentions of the anthropologist within their everyday work. The idea of anthropological work as 'labor' contrasts with Andean way of life and concepts of labor based on agricultural seasons, animal herding and cooking; although the exchange of ideas, stories or other types of information was not forbidden, neither was it common, and there was definitively no socially defined situation of being asked questions by foreigners about their lives. Neither the asymmetric speech situation nor the prepared questions of the ethnographer are compatible with Andean ways of asking and creating knowledge based on reciprocity, flexibility and social relationships.

In some cases I worked for several weeks to establish confidence (*confianza*) and rapport to overcome possible prejudices and anxieties. Reciprocity and involvement had to be assured by goods, gifts or interchange of knowledge, as experienced by other anthropologists in the Andes as well (e.g., Hornberger 1988: 6). Even information about my homeland and its language or ritual kinship could be an important medium of exchange in developing reciprocity. Often people also asked me to be the *madrina* ('godmother') of their wedding or children, as described by Hill & Hill (1986: 76f). The fact that I was a female anthropologist then was not irrelevant for the way people shared their experiences, narratives and knowledge with me. For example, the same woman who

had postdated her 'interview' after the harvest, on another occasion invited me to eat in her home and became comfortable enough to tell stories and comment about several topics. Often women asked if I had children, and the positive answer established a common ground of experience. Accidentally, I became friends with a bilingual woman from Huancavelica, called Eliana, who helped me with the care of my son and even prepared meals with me. She was not a trained professional translator, but had grown up in the countryside with Quechua speaking people. Even when living in the city, she maintained contact to indigenous women and so was able to explain the meanings of culturally specific terms in Spanish.

Despite the contrast between Andean life and anthropological work, in some situations, people found their own way to 'make sense" of the interview or the request for storytelling on a tape recorder and to adjust to the new situation and the new person. They interpreted their role as an interviewee as an opportunity to make the Quechua language 'travel far away', as in a spontaneous song by a woman (Alejandra) together with her daughter from the village Huayllaraccra, who not only responded to the actual situation of my leaving and their interpretation of my travel, but also showed how the artistic skills of poetry were enacted in a dialogical way by mother and daughter. The text of the song is:

Kay	karu	llaqta-manta	chaya-mu-ra-nki
That	far	land-ABL	arrive-'to the speaker'-PST-2PL
kay	karu	llaqta-manta-m	hamu-ra-nki
That	far	land -ABL-ASS	'come here'-PST-2PL
qechwa	simi-lla		apa-lla-q-chu?
Quechua	language-LIM		take-LIM-AG.PRMT-Q

'You arrived here from that land far away, you came here from this land far away, just to take with you the Quechua language?'

They interpreted their song also as an experience of intimacy and friendship between women of different continents, whereby one of her most important concerns was that her husband would not listen to this song. This way it also revealed a local perspective on 'translation' of the local language into a foreign space. At another occasion, some mothers who prepared food for the schoolchildren reinterpreted questions about culture and translation as a kind of competitive riddling game, similar to the local *watuchi*, embedded in everyday activities.

Similarly, a storytelling situation arose from a spontaneous conversation with a young girl (Rosalinda) in her shop (full text in Schneider 2007: 356ff). Buying some fruit I had some small talk with her, whereby she told me a narrative about the *condenado*, (literally: the 'damned") that provided me with valuable insights about local perspectives on

myth and reality. Rosalinda's story was fully contextualized in her everyday activities as a vendor (the narrative was interrupted several times by new customers) and she narrated it to me as it was being circulated in Yauli, her hometown, locating it in bygone days:

Punta-ta-m	kay Yauli-pi	ka-ra	huk familia/
Top-TEMP.ADV-ASS	this Yauli-LOC	be-PST	one family/

huk familia	ka-ra	punta-ta,	no ciertu/	ka-sqa
one family	be-PST	top-TEMP.ADV.,	NEG 'sure'/	be-PST.N.

'Long time ago there was a family/a family was here in Yauli, you know.'

The example shows how the storyteller herself attaches a special epistemic quality to her story. For example, when using the 'narrative' past (represented by the suffix *-sqa*), the story is meant to arise from 'hearsay' (as opposed to personally witnessed events). This does not mean however, that it was not seen as 'true' by the narrator. Rather, the line between 'real' stories and others that are just told for fun but are fictitious is not easy to draw to correspond to Western categories of truth and fiction, or academic analysis of the occurrences of grammatical means only. Rather, the grammatical details and vocabulary the narrator uses both indexically 'presuppose' meaning (as such the uses of narrative past may point to a special genre or context and help the listener to judge the epistemic quality of the narrative) and create new contexts of meanings (for 'presupposition' and 'entailment', see Silverstein 1997: 271).

I translated pieces of Rosalinda's narrative with Eliana's help. She was able to share some of the universe of meanings with the Quechua speaking people and explain the meanings going beyond dictionary equivalences. For example, *warichaka* literally translates as just 'bridge', but in the *condenado*-story, the word evokes certain connotations of a place where (malevolent) spirits live. In pure translation this contextual feature is hidden, as it presupposes a given context of Andean cosmology and universe. The metasemantic and metapragmatic capacity of the translator was essential in the process of getting acquainted with local cultural meanings.

But some concepts were also contextualized (and thus in some way translated) by the story itself. That provided an intertextual frame for understanding. As also observed by Mannheim & van Vleet (1998), the intertextual quality of oral tradition is an important means of connecting narrative pieces. Consider the *condenado*, the main theme of Rosalinda's narrative that is related to the social taboo of incest. In any individual story (or translation) this concept is brought to life, being explicated, reinforced and contextualized, for example, in pieces of direct speech, that in turn have their own metapragmatic functions as the quoting of protagonists in the story, but also function as 'memory sticks' for re-telling. As almost fixed blocks they 'survive' even translation (if not converted into indirect speech), as observed in many stories told in two versions.

This poetic device also functions as a means of 'de- and re-contextualization' (thus 'translation') (concepts elaborated by Silverstein & Urban 1996: 1-5).

Theoretical implications

Since the 1980's several authors, basing their arguments on postcolonial theory in anthropology, situate translation in relation to power, dominance, adaptation, manipulation and hybridization (e.g. Asad & Dixon 1985; Asad 1986; Niranjana 1992; Dingwaney 1995 and Mignolo 2000). Venuti describes translation as a process of adaptation and "domestication" of foreign texts (1993: 209) that implies "ethnocentric reduction of possibilities" (1998: 81). Especially in Latin American and other former colonial countries, translation is still informed by colonial history having contributed to existing asymmetrical hierarchies between languages and groups of speakers (Mignolo 1995: 8-15; Rafael 1988).

In translation studies, insights about different cultural backgrounds and power relations affecting translations and their circulation remained limited to written documents and translation criticism. In anthropology, however, the interpretation of translation in cultural life is strongly dependent on scholarly concepts of culture and ethnography or was informed by metaphorical views of ethnography as "cultural translation" (Crapanzano 2003: 44). Furthermore, as Heeschen notices, in anthropological practice the rethinking of translation as a means of data collection has been neglected and the role of the anthropologist as translator obscured (Heeschen 2003: 116), except for some critical contributions on the history of translation in anthropological research based on particular examples (Swann 1992; Rubel & Rosman 2003; Silverstein 2003 and Maranhão & Streck 2003).

Questions of dominance, power, solidarity and conflict also have long been addressed and interpreted in terms of gender differences in speech styles in education (Freeman 1997), courts (Brown 1993), conversational storytelling (Johnstone 1993) or other types of discourse (Tannen 1993). The marginalization of women's discourse in many societies has also provoked debates on power relations, ethics and authorship in ethnography and writing, especially in postcolonial approaches reflecting on 'de/colonizing the subject" (Smith & Watson 1992) in the representation of experiences, autobiographies and testimonial narratives.

In "Translated woman" Behar (2003) describes not only the special role of women and hierarchical relationships in 'writing culture' but also her personal experiences with her *comadre* (Latin American denomination for ritual kinship to a woman) whose life story and narratives she represents in a book for a foreign audience (2003: 299f). Recent research however, goes beyond static dichotomies between the 'male' and the 'female' as opposed categories and source of existing power relations. Rather, different "feminine or

masculine identities" (McElhinny 1995: 215) are analyzed as "community-based practice" (Eckert & McConell-Ginet 1992: 470ff). Gal concludes that "power is more than the chance in decision-making", but the "ability to define social reality, to impose visions of the world" (1995: 177-178). Those visions are reflected in language use revealing "ideological understandings about women, men and language", but also "attempts to parody, subvert, resist, contest, or in some way accommodate the positioned and powerful ideological framings" (Gal 1995: 180).

Despite those attempts to make visible and audible the voices of marginalized groups, indigenous groups or speakers of a less powerful language, inequality and ambivalence in perspective and representation remain. In her pioneering essay "Can the subaltern speak?" Spivak (1988) even denies the possibility for less privileged groups (including women or indigenous rural people) to express their point of view at an international level, telling us that exactly the intention to let them 'speak for themselves' leads to a new kind of marginalization of subaltern voices, especially those of women.

A further paradox lies in the gap between linguistic competence and asymmetrical relationship in research. As Briggs points out, the questioning of elders in some societies is only possible with some amount of 'rhetorical competence'. So if a newcomer, like the anthropologist, with very little knowledge of the local language, tries to change the established roles in the speech situation, problems and misunderstandings (Briggs 1983: 251) may arise. Even if the realization of an interview is more or less embedded in indigenous discursive patterns and "meta-communicative routines" (Briggs 1984, 1986: 99), the utterances of the native speakers are still de-contextualized by the ethnographer and re-contextualized in scientific discursive practices, by selection, translation and integration into paradigms, articles, texts and arguments (see Silverstein & Urban 1996: 1-5; Briggs 2007).

The concept of "translanguaging" presented by Walter Mignolo and Freya Schiwy cuts across the opposition between hegemony and resistance, arguing that on the one hand colonial difference and hegemonic discourses informed translation processes (especially in Latin America), but also that forms of resistance and subaltern ways of translation and construction of meaning are at work:

> The theories of translation/transculturation we foresee are coming from a critical reflection on the colonial difference and from seeking to overcome the national-language ideology frame in which translation was conceived, practiced and theorized in the modern/colonial world. Translating can no longer be understood as a simple question of moving from object language A to subject language B, with all the implications of the inequality of languages. Rather translation becomes a 'translanguaging', a way of speaking, talking, and thinking in between languages, [...] (Mignolo & Schiwy 2003: 23).

The authors apply their theory to the unequal hierarchy between languages on disciplinary knowledge (ascribing different positions to Spanish, English, German, Quechua and others) as well: "It is communication not only between peasants and scientist but also between different versions of intellectual knowledge, each translating and transculturating the other" (Mignolo & Schiwy 2003: 21).

This view on translation is in line with recent developments in globalization. According to Vertovec (2009) during the last few years there is a growing awareness of developments at the international level that have created networks and new spaces of interaction for indigenous groups to express their standpoints, also beyond national boundaries and institutions.

In my analysis I draw upon this new perspective on translation presented by Mignolo & Schiwy (2003) to describe the postcolonial situation in the sense that translation is still a double sided, simultaneous and hybrid process loaded with historical meanings and actual political and cultural statements. Their approach also allows for the insight that indigenous speakers and languages not only contribute words, utterances and meanings, but also potentially new frameworks to describe translation and opens new ways to bring together perspectives that at the first glance seem to be too different and unequal: The voice of the anthropologist as translator at the international level and the translational activities of Andean women, looking at the global macro-level influences and their local dynamics.

Differences in voices and the use of hybrid speech between Quechua and Spanish are all in danger of being erased, unified or obscured, when translated into German and English. However, the concrete manifestations of translational power, ideology, gender and cultural change are more complex to analyze. Sometimes they consist of implicit categories, subtle linguistic details going beyond denotational meaning and explicit categories. Especially talking about indigenous languages, inflexible Western or academic concepts may impede the researcher to get inspired by a native unofficial perspective on translation.

Changing the perspective, there are pieces of translation and interpretation in everyday speech and situations of intercultural communication, both in semi-formal events as political speech and in highly formalized settings as courts or other public institutions. They can be analyzed in terms of Silverstein's notion of indexicality as native translational practices and creative transformation. Equally, 'gender indexicals' that derive their meaning from the context reveal something about the gender of the participants in the verbal interaction:

> Here, the speaker uses a form in a discourse context, in which the specific form used indicates something about the gender of speaker and/or addressee (or even audience) of the relevant framing discourse context. In the simplest case, the framing context is the ongoing social situation in which speaker and addressee of the message are participants. It does not

> matter what is being said, nor whom or what is being referred to; the indexical forms mark something about the context in which they are used (Silverstein 1985: 232f).

For anthropological analysis, those hybrid discourses are translated again and a 'second layer of translation' emerges. Translation then converts in both method and object of analysis, but once more in a creative practice between subjects in the field. In the following chapter I analyze some examples of translation at special points of culture-contact in order to show local female strategies in translation and their implications for anthropological analysis.

Beyond hegemonic discourses: Creative transformations in translation

Important institutionalized points of contacts between the global and the local, the urban and the rural in the Central Andes are the public and administrative institutions (including the health and educational system), as well as development projects, NGOs and local organizations.

In Huancavelica, the political center of a rural and agricultural region, Quechua speaking – often illiterate – people from the surroundings in many ways are confronted with Spanish speaking institutions based on Western and literate communication forms. Despite revitalization efforts (as translation of legal texts or the introduction of bilingual education) indigenous languages continue to obtain a marginalized position in public discourse, as all the political decisions, laws and public discourses, especially in Lima, the capital, are communicated in Spanish. Monolingual speakers of Quechua remain largely excluded from any decision making processes, and social mobility and political action for a long time have been exclusively associated with the Spanish language.

Many of the 'official' translators, judges, representatives of institutions or bilingual community members are male; consequently, at first glance, the female perspective seemed to be much more 'informal', marginalized, less visible and often going beyond established institutions, especially for monolingual indigenous women, who are staying at home, caring for their children and the animals and whose contact to the Spanish speaking cities is often limited to the selling of their products in the market or participation in nutritional projects.

However, the opposition between the 'male' and the 'female' or Spanish versus Quechua speaking domains has never been exclusive, and there have been a lot of intersections, processes and changes during the last decades. National and international efforts to revitalize Quechua language and culture are taking place along with projects that allow indigenous women more influence in the public spaces (see Hornberger & Coronel-Molina 2004; Howard 1998 and 2007). Furthermore, as described by Silverstein (1998), local linguistic communities can no longer be seen as isolated units, but rather

are transformed through their contact with other languages and different communication strategies.

Examples of political speech show how such 'global messages and meanings' are represented in hybrid speech between Quechua and Spanish, how concepts foreign to a Quechua speaking audience were 'translated' in political rhetoric and in what way the specific use of language is indexical for underlying social relations. The first speech I analyze here was held by Victoria Cruz, a Quechua speaking woman in the central plaza of Huancavelica during a political demonstration against the privatization of a hydro-electric power plant in the region. She encouraged the politicians and authorities of the region to resist the plans of the government and invited the entire population to raise their voices and assert their rights on the local resources. The second speech was held during the meeting of community leaders and agents of different organizations in the city hall, discussing actual political topics related to the rural communities. A male representative of CEPES (Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales) spoke to the audience offering legal assistance in cases of communal conflicts and problems with the national authorities (for the complete transcription of both speeches see Schneider 2007: 307ff).

Although both speakers used the Quechua language as a means of mutual understanding, their way of translation, argumentation and indexical reference to social structure showed great differences. Victoria Cruz, by using Quechua language in her speech to a bilingual audience, explicitly proclaims her counter position to those existing structures by highlighting the power and capacity to act with their mother tongue:

Mana-m	castillanu	rima-lla-wan-chu
NEGI-ASS	Spanish	speak-LIM-with-NEGII

runasimi-wan-nchik-pas	punta-man	ri-ru-sunchik
Quechua-with-'our'/INCL-too	top-'to'	go-'now'-3PL/FUT

'Not only speaking Spanish, but also with our Quechua we will go to the top'.

But also the use of deictic morphemes has consequences for the communication of identity and social boundaries in public discourse, as analyzed by Urban (2001: 20-31) in another context. By using the inclusive suffix *-nchik* ("we") in this passage, she refers to her listeners and herself as a 'we'-group, creating identification with both city dwellers and rural community members, women and men, local authorities and ordinary people, unified by their common interest in the protection of the regional resources in the department. While the speaker from CEPES using the exclusive suffix *-yku* constantly creates an opposition between his organization and the audience, Victoria Cruz is including herself, an indigenous woman, in this group, however she refers to the decision makers and powerful authorities at the national level, the government and organizations, who had disappointed the rural people by their promises, as *paykuna*

("they/them"). When she uses the exclusive *-yku* in her speech, directing herself to the local authorities, she refers only to the "poor people without work" (*waqcha runa mana trabajuyoq*), including herself, but not the representatives of organizations she is speaking to, calling them *señores* (gentlemen). The different suffixes used by the speakers here indexically communicate their social identities, presupposing the features of the social environment, but also creating new context for action.

A further aspect of indexical language use here is the rhetorical competence of the speaker. Although Victoria Cruz as a politically active woman is bilingual, she uses the expressive power and rhetorical strength of the Quechua language in order to convince her audience to engage in political action. When she refers to domains outside the Andean communities, for example, the world of national and international affairs, markets, institutions (but also of political values as democracy and activism), she does it in a different way than her male counterpart. So she makes use of Spanish borrowings to translate the idea 'to claim one's rights' into Quechua, reproducing an exogenous discourse (see Howard 2005: 160ff) about human rights as represented by NGOs, combining the Spanish words *derecho* and *reclamar* with Quechua suffixes: *derechonchikta reklamasunchik* ("let's claim our rights"). But while in the speech of the agent of CEPES the Spanish loans remain foreign, untranslated concepts (e.g. *asesorar, harmonisar, coordinar*), Victoria Cruz uses Quechua poetic structures, parallelisms and semantic pairs (that is a way to approach the meaning of a concept putting two similar words side by side, framed by the same suffixes) to make the ideas accessible to Andean life:

Hatari-sunchik,	rikchari-sunchik-yá.
Get.up-1PL/FUT/INCL	wake.up-1PL/FUT/INCL-EMP

Qalay-ni-nchik	hinaspa-nchik	derecho-nchik-ta	reklama-sunchik.
All-O-we/INCL	then-1PL/INCL	right-1PL/INCL-ACC	claim-1PL/FUT/INCL

'Let's get up, let's wake up. Let us altogether claim our rights then'.

Although the use of Spanish loans indicates also 'foreign' concepts brought into Andean life by organizations, political speech and NGOs, her speech also shows metaphorical and metonymical changes of Spanish loan words that, when entering Quechua discourse get new meanings, not evident at first glance. A typical Quechua way to translate emerging from the local vocabulary then is to extend the meanings of abstract words to new situations in a metaphorical style, as described by Silverstein (1997) in terms of creative indexical meaning. For example, when she is talking about the loss of control the poor people have over the costs of electricity she says:

Nisyu-nisyu-ta	paga-niku	fluidu-manta
Nescient-nescient-ADV	pay-1PL/EXCL	current-ABL

'We – unknowingly – are paying too much for electricity'.

The double use of *nisyu* (from Spanish *necio*=ignorant) gives it a stronger meaning ("totally ignorant"), an expression from which the hearer can conclude that the company used the 'ignorance' of the rural people (to be understood in this context as lack of literacy and political power) to make the prices for electricity for their own advantage. Further metaphors express the negative effects of the privatization for the rural poor. At first glance, the expression *Llapa fluido mana luzniyoq* ("Everywhere there is electricity, but no light") does not make any sense in translation. But taking into account the metonymic potentials in Quechua discourse widening the meaning of Spanish words, the meaning converts in: "There are electric installations but no electricity", which makes sense again.

Later in her speech she uses the word *wañuy* that originally means "to die". In the context of a semantic pair it becomes "to raise one's voice and not to shut up:"

Ama	wañu-ri-ychik-chu	
Do.not	die-INCH-2PL-NEG	
ama-ña-yá	simi-ykichik-ta-qa	amuri-ychik-chu.
Do.not-any.more-EMP	mouth-2PL-ACC-TOP	band-2PL-NEG

'Do not get muzzled, do not band/ shut your mouth any more'.

To discover those hidden meanings and culturally specific ways of translation was a constant challenge during the process of transcription and translation and showed how anthropological fieldwork as such is affected by similar structures and ambivalences of translation in everyday discourses. Under this challenges anthropological fieldwork can be seen as a kind of practice representing worldviews, informed by culturally specific strategies, but also by ideologies and conventions about how a final text should be or how truth or equivalence are constructed. In the beginning of my search for data I often was looking for translated documents as fixed texts, isolated words or concepts, suitable for systematic analysis. However, translation evidence in this sense was seldom available or fruitful for analysis. It always seemed to slip through my fingers. Some moments of speech were only understandable later when transcribed and reflected. On the other hand, in both formal and informal settings translation emerged in an unpredictable way.

In the bilingual situation of Huancavelica, it was never predictable where strategically translation will occur. It always depended on a variety of factors, as the competence of the speakers, the availability of a bilingual person and the communication needs. In my anthropological investigation, translation was both part of the method, means of communication and the issue of research; the different issues intersected and were difficult to separate analytically. In some situations, when 'official translators' were not available, Eliana, who helped me with anthropological investigation, transcription and

translation, also translated between the Spanish speaking representatives of the courtroom and Quechua speaking witnesses presenting their stories in their mother tongue.

Discourse analysis indicates that the role of the interpreter in this instance goes beyond the mere rendering of a message in the language of another. Rather it implies both social and interactional ambivalences and strategies. When Eliana was translating for a young woman who exercised her right to speak in her mother tongue to a Spanish monolingual lawyer, the interaction showed not only a cultural clash between ways of questioning and presenting one's story or argument but also specific ways to interact. Beginning with swearing to tell the 'truth', norms of politeness and questioning, the search for solidarity between speakers, and ending with the conclusions the members of court will make from the utterances of the witnesses, the speech acts in the courtroom process depend on specific institutional and cultural constraints.

Although Quechua specific ways to express the indigenous concepts of justice or ways of speaking in court interaction are marginalized, in some instances, they break through. While the questions from the lawyer were highly formalized and abstract, the translator engaged in a kind dialogical interaction with the Quechua speaking woman, resembling the dialogical nature of storytelling and everyday talk, including parallel speech. Instead of giving an isolated account of what has happened, adding facts from her memory, here the two women co-constructed the argument of the story together. The asymmetric distinction between the one who asks and the one who responds are not always consistent with Andean ways of asking. Rather one person provides the other with information to be 'confirmed', 'elaborated', 'modified', or 'rejected'. As in the narrative, the Quechua speaking witness entered in a kind of dialogue with the translator, while interrupting the de-contextualized question, taking it as a key to recall her own version of the past events. The conversational structure of this dialog was not only complementary, but showed even the repetitive and rhythmical features of Andean ways of transmitting information:

Translator: Maqasunkichu..../
Witness: Ah, maqawan a cada rato, qarqopawan, "váyate, lárgate" sapa vuelta nispa [...]/
Translator: Malas palabrakunawan/
Witness: Malas palabrakunawan/
Translator: Wawachaykikunatapas/
Witness: Wawachaykunataq manam gustun kanchu patente....

Translator: Did he hit you/
Witness: Yes, he hit me all the time/ he threw me out saying all the time "Go away"[...]/
Translator: With bad words/
Witness: With bad words/
Translator: Also your children/
Witness: Also my children, he did not like them…

Although the Quechua narrative here is still adapted to the questions and requirements of a foreign, more powerful, language and legal apparatus, the women not just felt linguistically incompetent and dominated by a hegemonic system and the social distance to the literate, highly formalized and foreign setting. Neither did they perform exclusively in 'powerless' language, as presented in other studies in courtroom interaction (O'Barr & Atkins 1980). Rather, the witness took the female translator as the relevant person to speak with. The task of the translator here was not just to transmit exact messages, but to provide the subaltern women with a platform to speak and raise their voice, converting the Quechua language to a means of effective and direct communication.

Conclusion

Although the links between different languages, gender categories, the local and the global in translation shown in this paper are very complex, ambivalent and ideologically loaded, the examples from the Andean discourses can help us to understand at least some of the possibilities and limits of cultural circulation through translation.

But how can we evoke such awareness, discover such processes and make them fruitful for anthropological theory and the humanities without subjecting them again to the Western categories of investigation and presentation? If the most reluctant paradox of a scholarly approach to foreign texts and utterances is that the final interpretations and generalizations in cultural analysis are still done by the anthropologist or Western analyst (Briggs 2007), how can it be achieved to "let the subaltern speak" (in Spivak's words) without once more repeating dichotomies and departing from an ethnocentric view?

First, the humanities and anthropology have to go beyond both metaphorical uses of the translation-concept on the one hand and pure Western or literacy centered approaches on the other, looking more closely on translation as cultural practice embedded in a wider context. Even in a seemingly language based activity such as 'translation', it is not sufficient to ask for isolated words, translation 'problems' or ideal solutions. Rather, it is necessary to observe ongoing translation in action to discover the processes, ideologies and ambivalences lying behind the texts and utterances. Those practices however are not so easy to grasp. The 'labor' inherent in translation involves interpretations, different perspectives and layers, is often hidden, marginalized and goes beyond related concepts in the sense of official transmission of seemingly neutral information. In an anthropological sense it rather refers to existing strategies of understanding and making oneself understood beyond linguistic and cultural boundaries, as for example in political speech or everyday communication. The examples show that even in highly institutionalized settings translation does not consist of a mere literal transformation of genres, words and utterances to another code. Rather, specific elements of a new communicative universe are transported into discourse, creating new (hybrid) words, expressions

and genres. Indigenous ways to integrate foreign concepts, (e.g., about political action, democracy, justice or truth) however manifest themselves not only in explicitly textualized dictionary translations, but above all in a number of ongoing speech events. It is this level where 'subaltern' forms of translation occur, beyond official written translations of laws or circulating narratives. This may include hybrid speech, but also ideologies and culturally specific viewpoints on language and meaning, that is according to Silverstein the whole range from indexicality (context based meaning) up to pragmatics (speech situation, turn taking, ...) and metapragmatics, the explicit or implicit knowledge about pragmatic structures in a given language.

For academic research, this may imply that it is vital to discover strategies of translation that challenge taken-for-granted academic notions of 'equivalence', 'original', 'exchange', and 'meaning', to become aware of the fact that the notion of translation itself is informed by Western ideologies and ideas and that the exclusive focus on oral or written texts and genre is deeply ethnocentric, excluding alternative practices as well as pragmatic and metapragmatic strategies lying behind other cultures' local epistemologies.

Second, for a long time the standard model of research has been the notion of the 'native informant' who provides informations for the anthropologist, who then translates and/or converts that information into data. This notion now appears limited and has to be challenged, because it suggests a kind of neutral data, independent of the variety of dialogical and transformative processes, beginning with the choice of setting, up to the presentation of the data in publication and the reception by readers from other cultural contexts. Moreover the people – including women – whose speech is being translated are themselves 'translators', manipulating meaning, dealing with mutual comprehension and status and making sense of foreign concepts or persons, including the anthropologist. In using hybrid speech they show ways of metapragmatic awareness and indexicality related to the cultural, situational or social context. They reflect both previous decisions of translators who influenced standards in speech use as well as presuppositions and ideologies, but also creative ways of dealing with new information and spontaneous communication needs.

The ethnographer then should not only avoid being influenced by his own language-centered ideologies, but should also be cautious not to underestimate the ability of people to verbalize, to interpret, in order to get inspired by the "moments of life and speech" (Heeschen 2003: 130 drawing upon Schleiermacher, a German philosopher) of the translated and translating people. This means not only to question carefully the data from the viewpoint of the anthropologist, but to try to seriously take into account the perspectives of the speakers, their intentions, backgrounds and interpretations. This also requires recognizing one's own limitations in interpretive power, admitting that the 'labor' of translation, often treated as marginal and self explaining, is affecting strongly

scholarly results on both sides. As Unni Wikan (1992) told us, linguistic means are not the only access to culture. Understanding is always based on 'resonance', which includes empathy, emotions and non-verbal aspects. She reminds us that 'theories' about what a member of a different culture intended to say, always have to be "passing theories" (Wikan 1992: 468) and

> [...] that anthropology's romance with words, concepts, text, and discourse may be counterproductive [...]. And to transcend the words, we need to attend to the speaker's intention, and the social position they emanate from, to judge correctly what they are doing (Wikan 1992: 464f).

Third, although the impact of power relations, inequality and colonial history on translation, languages and exchange of information cannot be denied and ideology persists, it would be insufficient to concentrate only on dichotomies as 'weak' versus 'powerful' languages, 'male' versus 'female' or 'hegemonic' versus 'subaltern' forms of speech. Even the careful reflection of an ethics of difference would still be embedded in a matrix of static dichotomies. The examples show that despite the evident hegemonic structures and global hierarchy of languages, many spheres remain where alternative metaphors and expressive strategies prevail, creating a level of linguistic interaction which includes a wide range of communicative strategies as well as conscious manipulation of linguistic means. Some results may suggest describing women's ways to translate as more 'informal', more close to the indigenous worldview, more 'personal', 'powerless' or an expression of feminist resistance. However, one has to be cautious about using essentialist categories in describing those observations. Rather, the special moments of unforeseen ways of translation and communication may affect the anthropologist's own framework.

As the title of this paper suggests, the Andean women are not just translated (through the recording of their narratives, songs and knowledge) but also actively translating, not only as translators in court or in everyday situations, but also in their efforts to express foreign meanings in their mother tongue. This implies not only a change in perspective, but a simultaneous view on those different layers in the translation process. To discover them means to remain flexible in methodology and open to unexpected ways of getting data and transmitting knowledge. Diverging statements, ideological influences, ambivalences and contradictions then do not need to be regarded as a problem, but can be seen as "intersubjective constructions" (Hill & Hill 1986: 88) with possibilities of adjustment and creative elaboration on both sides and thus reveal their interpretative potential.

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